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SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY C. P. MULDER

FOLLOWING IS AN ARTICLE BY C. P. MULDER WHICH APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1978:

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA -- AS A RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SOUTH AFRICA FINDS ITSELF IN A UNIQUE SITUATION, DESIGNED SEPARATELY BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO YIELD A SINGLE RESULT: PROPEL SOUTH AFRICA, WITHIN ITS OWN INALIENABLE TERRITORY, ON A SELF-DESTRUCTIVE COURSE.

ON THE ONE HAND, THE SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE OF THE JIMMY CARTER-ANDREW YOUNG ADMINISTRATION IS TO FORCE MAJORITY RULE UPON SOUTH AFRICA BY SO-CALLED PEACEFUL METHODS. THESE PEACEFUL METHODS INCLUDE SUCH MEASURES AS TRADE BOY-UNCLASSIFIED

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COTTS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF INVESTMENTS, ARMS EMBARGOES (INCLUDING MILITARY HARDWARE FOR USE AGAINST EXTERNAL ATTACK), SEVERING ALLIANCES IN SPORTS AND A LONGLIST OF SIMILAR COERCIVE INSTRUMENTS. DOES THE UNITED STATES UTILIZE SIMILAR PEACEFUL METHODS TO WIN ITS WAY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES?

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIET UNION SHARES THE SAME SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE, BUT IS EMPLOYING CUBAN PROXY FORCES WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ESTABLISHING A MARXIST SYSTEM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IF SUCCESSFUL, ALL DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM WILL DISAPPEAR THERE. HAS AMERICA FORGOTTEN ANGOLA?

A VERY SUPERFICIAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE COMPLEXITIES OF OUR PLURAL SOCIETY AND HISTORY AMONG CERTAIN WESTERN GOVERN-MENTAL LEADERS HAS RESULTED IN THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS BECOMING EASY TARGETS FOR A FEW SOUTH AFRICAN DETRACTORS AGAINST THEIR OWN COUNTRY. IT IS REGRETTABLE, TO SAY THE LEAST, THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS LACK THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS TO STEADILY GUIDE THEIR OWN ACTIONS AMIDST THE BARRAGE OF PROPAGANDA FROM UNSUPPORTABLE SOURCES.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THROUGH ITS STATED FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES, HAS, UNTHINKINGLY, DEEPLY INVOLVED ITSELF IN THE PLANS OF THOSE WHO WISH TO DESTROY SOUTH AFRICA.

THE ADMINISTRATION ARGUES THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT CRUCIAL TO

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. YET WE MUST CONCLUDE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS "INTERNATIONALIZED" SOUTH AFRICAN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS BY SELECTING IT AS HIS PERSONAL TARGET IN HIS SWEEPING COMMITMENT TO RESTORE HUMAN UNCLASSIFIED

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RIGHTS GLOBALLY.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATED AIM TO WORK FOR "MAJORITY GOVERN-MENT" EVEN HAS SPECIAL "GUIDELINE PRINCIPLES" FORMULATED FOR THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE ABSENCE OF SIMILAR "GUIDELINE PRINCIPLES" FOR OTHER COUNTRIES, WE SOUTH AFRICANS, WHEN LOOKING AT THE REST OF AFRICA, PERCEIVE A HIGH DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES AS IT SEARCHES FOR WHAT ITS ROLE SHOULD BE IN OTHER AREAS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE WHEN EVERYONE ELSE (EXCEPT FOR THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION) IS GRAVELY AWARE OF THE GRADUAL BUT STEADY MARXIST INROADS INTO AFRICA VIA CUBANIZATION.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS, THAT BY SELECTING ONLY MY COUNTRY IN ALL OF AFRICA FOR THE GREAT AMERICAN HUMAN

RIGHTS EXPERIMENT, THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME A CAUSE CELEBRE IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESHUFFLE THE PERCEPTIONS OF ITS CITIZENS.

IF THIS IS NOT THE CASE, THE ADMINISTRATION IS, AT THE

VERY LEAST, GUILTY OF DOUBLE TALK OR WORSE, PRACTICING SELECTIVE MORALITY.

SOUTH AFRICA HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO DETECT RACIALISTIC OVERTONES IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S STATEMENTS - ANTI-WHITE RACISM. FOR IT CERTAINLY CANNOT BE DENIED THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA WERE A BLACK GOVERNMENT, THE WASHINGTON RED CARPET WOULD HAVE BEEN ROLLED OUT LONG AGO, EVEN IF WE HAD COMMITTED THE ATROCITIES THE WORLD HAS WITNESSED IN THE COUNTRIES TO OUR NORTH.

THE FACT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS CLASSED SOUTH AFRICA AS A RIGIDLY SEPARATED RACIAL ENTITY, WHILE WARMLY WELCOMING SOME OF THE WORLD'S WORST EXAMPLES OF HUMAN SLAUGH ER LINCLASSIFIED

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AND DEPRIVATION OF RIGHTS, MUST BE VIEWED BY SOUTH AFRICANS AS A VISIBLE DEMONSTRATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION SATISFY-ING POLITICAL AND VOCAL SPECIAL INTERESTS.

HOWEVER, WE CANNOT ACCEPT IT AS A CRYSTALIZATION OF THE ATTITUDE OF AMERICA'S THINKING MAJORITY. WE REALIZE THAT THIS WOULD GO AGAINST THE KNOWN HISTORICAL DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO MAKE UP ITS MIND ONLY AFTER LOOKING AT BOTH SIDES OF THE COIN. SO WE MUST DEPLORE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS SHOWING ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN - THE ONLY ONE THEY WANT THE PUBLIC TO SEE.

SOUTH AFRICA ADMITS IT HAS IMPERFECT LAWS AND AN IMPERFECT SOCIETY. ALL COUNTRIES HAVE IMPERFECT LAWS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ITSELF IS AN IMPERFECT SOCIETY. YET THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION REFUSES US THE RIGHT TO THIS ADMISSION. IT CLAIMS THAT EVERY ACTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS A CLUMSY AND MYOPIC OVER-REACTION IN THOSE CASES WHERE OUR UNIQUE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SITUATION DICTATES COUNTERACTIONS TO PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER, AND TO CONTINUE OUR EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES.

THERE ARE NO TEXTBOOK SOLUTIONS OR PRECEDENTS FOR THIS SITUATION. SO IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST

DESIGN ITS OWN INSTRUMENTS AND ADAPT ITS INTERNAL POLICIES TO DEAL REALISTICALLY WITH TODAY'S SOUTH AFRICAN REALITIES.

IS IT SHEER COINCIDENCE THAT WE ARE GUIDED IN OUR ACTIONS TO TWO OF THE TENETS CONTAINED IN THE MONROE DOCTRINE? "IT IS ONLY WHEN OUR RIGHTS ARE INVADED OR SERIOUSLY MENACED THAT WE RESENT INJURIES OR MAKE PREPARATION FOR OUR DEFENSE" AND "WE SHOULD CONSIDER ANY UNCLASSIFIED

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ATTEMPT... TO EXTEND THEIR SYSTEM TO ANY PORTION OF THIS HEMISPHERE AS DANGEROUS TO OUR PEACE AND SAFETY."

THE UNITED STATES HAS RECOGNIZED THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AS A MONOLITHIC STATE EVEN THOUGH IT

IS COMPOSED OF 15 DIFFERENT ETHNIC REPUBLICS. IT SHARES, CHEEK BY JOWL, UNITED NATIONS BENCHES WITH THE ETHNIC BYELORUSSIANSOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE ETHNIC UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

YET IT FROWNS UPON AND INDEED DENIES ETHNICITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, EVEN WHEN SOUTH AFRICA ATTEMPTS, AT ALL COSTS, TO AVOID ETHNIC FRICTION AND A CLASH OF DIFFERENT NATIONALISMS BY STRUCTURING A PLURALITY OF DEMOCRACIES RATHER THAN A SINGLE DEMOCRACY FOR ITS DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS.

WE HAVE NEVER ASKED THE UNITED STATES FOR ANY AID IN ANY FORM WHATEVER. NOR HAVE WE ASKED THE UNTIED STATES GOVERNMENT TO GIVE UP ON OUR BEHALF ANY BENEFITS IT MIGHT ENJOY FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. BUT, WHAT WE ARE ASKING IS A FUNDAMENTAL REQUEST. STOP INTERFERING IN OUR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, STOP MORALIZING ABOUT DEMOCRACY, MAJORITY GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM SUCH UNTENABLE PLATFORMS AS THE BLATANTLY MILITARY DICTATORSHIP OF NIGERIA.

C. P. MULDER IS SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER OF INFORMATION. VANCE

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